1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

609
619
621
778

event was believed to have brought misfortune on the community and to have resulted in breaking it up.[18a] Adair says that "in almost every Indian nation, there are several *peaceable* towns, which are called 'old-beloved,' 'ancient, holy, or white towns;' they seem to have been formerly 'towns of refuge,' for it is not in the memory of their oldest people, that ever human blood was shed in them; although they often force persons from thence, and put them to death elsewhere." "White," he says in a footnote, "is their fixed em-

[822]
[344]

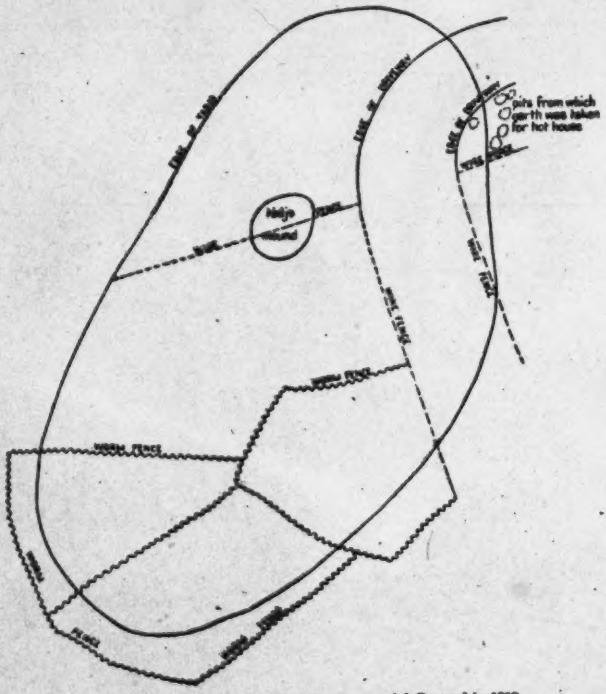

FIG. 14.—Site of the old Kusabdji Ceremonial Ground in 1912

blem of peace, friendship, happiness, prosperity, purity, holiness, &c.," and just above he tells us that Coosa, then "reduced to a small ruinous village," was "still a place of safety for those who kill undesignedly." [19]

Few of my own informants knew anything about these matters, but one of them reported that if a criminal escaped to a White town the pursuers must stop and wait until the affair could be adjusted. He added that if an enemy reached a White town he was safe, though not infrequently he was forced out of it and killed beyond its precincts.

[18a] Bartram, Travels, pp. 367-369. [19] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 159.

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

at these feasts; the doctors say that it raises the spirits of the sick, and weakens the evil spirit.[25] 755

Today they call these dances by a shortened form of the name, Pishofa dances; they will be discussed at length in a subsequent paper.

The later Creek performance was much tamer than the ancient ritual. If a person were sick and his family knew what medicine to send for they did so; if not they got the physician's advice and procured the herbs, and other things he ordered. The pot was laid out for him with the medicine plants near it and beside all a cane for him to blow through, also a chair for him to sit in and a small gift to encourage him. Four root stalks or branches of the medicine were generally used, and in gathering these the doctor sometimes faced east and sometimes one of the other cardinal points in accordance with the nature of the remedy. Bark and branches were generally taken from the east sides of the trees. The medicine was piled into the pot at the direction of the physician, along with water, after which he blew into it through the cane four separate times after as many repetitions of a sacred fromula suited to the kind of disease which he supposed the patient had contracted. He came four successive mornings, allowing the gift to remain where it had been placed until the fourth, when he took it with him. This gift might be some cloth—perhaps 10 yards of calico—money, a handkerchief, or, if the doctor were a woman, a shawl. Money has been given only in late times.

The points of the compass are frequently named in these formulæ. The circuit is always sinistral or contraclockwise, and according to the best information I could get it usually begins with the north and ends with the east because the east is associated with life or the renewal of it. According to one informant, however, it ended with the south, and there may have been variations in the formulæ because the colors attached to these points are admitted to vary. One of my best informants stated that they were either: North (honeta), green; west (akálatká), red; south (wahála), black; and east (hásosa), white; or else north, red; west, green; south, black; and east, white. The black is said to stand for the shade or something of that sort, but it does not seem natural that it should be to the south. The table following contains seven lists of colors applied to the cardinal points by several different bodies of Creeks, and a list from the Cherokee band of Natchez, obtained from several different authorities. 755 823 822

[25] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, p. 310.

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NNII Creek NNII

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823
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	North	West	South	East
Chekilli, speech to Oglethorpe (Kasihta).	Red and yellow.	Black	Blue	White.[1]
Tuggle, Ms	Red	Yellow	Black	Do.[2]
Lasley Cloud, through F. Speck (Tuskegee).	Black	do	Red	Do.[3]
Big Jack (Hilibi)	Green	Red	Black	Do.
	Red	Green	do	Do.
Z. Cook (Tukabahchee)	Black	do	White	Red.
Silas Jefferson (Tuskegee)	Green	Black	Brown	Yellow.
Texas Alabama	Yellow	do	Red	White.
Watt Sam (Natchez)	do	do	do	Do.

[1] Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., vol. 1, p. 245.
[2] Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.
[3] Mem. Am. Anth. Assn., vol. II, p. 23.

Here red and yellow is each applied to the north in three lists, and black and green in two; black is applied to the west in four lists, yellow and green in two each, and red in one; black is applied to the south in three cases, brown in one, red in three, and blue and white in one each; white is applied to the east in seven cases and yellow and red in one each. In conjuring for the dog disease the cardinal points were faced in the same order as that first given, ending with the east, but no colors were mentioned. In others neither the points nor the colors occurred. When he blew into the medicine, however, the doctor almost always faced east. An Alabama doctor would sing one verse of the medicine formula and call upon the north, sing another and call upon the west, sing a third and call upon the south, and sing a fourth and call upon the east. Then he would blow into the medicine and do the same thing again, passing around the circuit four times and blowing into the medicine after each circuit. Afterwards the patient was given some medicine to drink, and, wetting the ends of his fingers in it, the doctor rubbed some on the patient's ears, arms, legs, breast, and in fact his whole body. The north was referred to as the "yellow water," the west as "the black water," the south as "the red water," and the east as "the white water," and they were enumerated in that order, as in the table above.

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According to my Natchez informant, himself a medicine man, the sick person must be laid with his head to the east. It was like administering poison, he affirmed, to turn the heads of the sick in any other direction, because "the east meant long life and good fortune while the west meant short life." Bark, roots, and other portions of trees or bushes which entered into the remedies were taken from the east side. If a person became weak and emaciated, his name might be changed.